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EDITORIAL NOTES AND COMMENT

OUR GROWTH AT NEWARK, N. J.

A Capitalist Paper on the Machine Question
—The "Holy" Political Combine of
Haverhill—A Senator on the
"Drummers"—Poor
Bill Anthony

Eugene V. Debs at Coudersport, Pa.

The bicycle trust the other day bought up a bicycle factory at Kenosha, Wis., and although the factory had orders on hand for 20,000 wheels, all departments were at once closed down, leaving hundreds of working people out of work with plenty of time to investigate the subject of Socialism.

When the Coming Time of Columbus, Ohio, says that Mr. Jones and the non-partisan movement in Ohio stand for uncompromising Socialism it does not, of course, expect to be taken seriously. The claim is nowhere justified in Mr. Jones' utterances. The latter distinctly denies the class struggle, and this in the face of the fact that nothing is so plainly written across the pages of history.

The scheme of democratic politicians and journalists to place known Socialists on the electoral ticket of their party in 1900 will not work. No "known" Socialist can be caught by that hoary political prostitute, the democratic party. The scheme may catch "reformers" who want to put a patch here and a patch there on a system that the capitalist class will control in spite of all patches, but it will not catch a single "known" Socialist.

Poor Bill Anthony, the "hero of the Maine," out of work, out of money, unable to support the wife and babe he loved, brave enough in the service of his country, could not face the living death of poverty. Read the sorrowful tale of his suicide in this paper and think a little of the irony of life under capitalism. Poor Bill Anthony, the hero of a day neglected by the country he served all his life, now lying in the morgue, a suicide!

One does not wonder that the church as an institution has lost its moral influence in the world or that the masses of the people have been estranged from religious institutionalism, when he reads that a single church dignitary is the trustee and custodian of \$40,000,000 worth of property in the city of Chicago. The chief function of the church is the care of property, while bodies starve and souls perish under a system which the church defends.

The result of the November elections showed nothing more remarkable than the vote of the Social Democratic party at Newark, N. J. Eleven candidates for the state assembly received a solid vote ranging from 852 to 855. Other candidates polled as follows: Senator, 859; sheriff, 851; surrogate, 874. The total Socialist vote for the county for the heads of tickets was 17,718, an increase of 502 since the last county election. The S. L. P. vote for assemblymen ran from 802 to 910.

A fellow who stole fifty dollars and was caught would be hustled without ceremony to jail and the police would get themselves praised for their shrewdness in catching a thief. But in Brooklyn the head of the Franklin syndicate got away with a million dollars while the police were watching him, and many of the latter, the report says, had been benefited by his manipulations and were "in on the graft." The lesson is that stealing on a small scale makes it impossible for the thief to fix the police.

The Appeal to Reason makes a splendid offer to the workers to put its circulation up to 75,000 copies weekly. It is to give instruments for a brass band of seventeen pieces to the Socialists in the city having the most subscribers when the subscription list has reached that figure. The band will be turned over to the Social Democratic branch in the city that wins it. This is a useful award and a worthy object. How about Chicago getting the band? As Merlin says, "And now, brethren, git!"

When Comrade Debs lectured November 23d, at Coudersport, Pa., so many people attended the meeting from surrounding points that the railroads found it necessary to run special trains for their accommodation. Take all the remarkable incidents in connection with Comrade Debs' tours in all parts of the country and the splendid increase in our voting strength, and what more evidence can anyone ask of the spread of Socialism? Coming? Why certainly. At such a rate, too, that no temporary local set-back can stop it.

The combination candidate for mayor of Haverhill, who is receiving the support of democrats, republicans and prohibitionists in an endeavor to beat John C. Chase, the Socialist candidate, showed that the coalitionists will stoop to anything, when, in a recent speech, he declared that "the Social Democratic national platform says that divorces shall be granted upon mutual consent." Such a reckless liar is an ideal candidate of the parties that have abandoned their principles to whip the candidate of a working class party. There is absolutely not a single word on the subject of divorce in the national platform of the Social Democratic party.

The Reveille of Butte, Mont., says that "Many are of the opinion that the Social Democratic party is going to be the rallying standard of all the social reform elements." But if the Reveille imagines, as the editor seems to indicate, that the Social Democratic party can be wheedled into any concessions to the "reform elements," then we hope it will inform that element in its own bailiwick that the Social Democratic party occupies ground from which it will never recede; that it will never fuse with "reformers" or a "reform" party, nor compromise its revolutionary principles. This party is the standard-bearer of International Socialism. All elements accepting that are welcome to rally round our standard; all others are welcome to remain away.

The Bakers' Journal has the following to say about the Social Democratic party: "There is but one party claiming the redemption of the toiling masses as its object, whose leaders have shown to be conscious of the requisites of a progressive political party in our days, i. e., the Social Democratic party. Its platform shows that it is built up on clear principles and its advocates have so far strictly adhered to a policy which recommends it to the toiling masses. During the recent election some of its members have affiliated with the Independent Labor Party of New York—one of those schemes mentioned above—and the rebuke these received shows that the executive board of the S. D. P. is aware of the requirements for success in the political field."

It is reported by cable that at the recent municipal elections in Berlin the Socialists gained six new members in the City Council. The city of Berlin is already represented in the Reichstag by a solid Socialist delegation, though the Socialists have never been able to get control of the City Council. This is due to the fact that in the municipal elections a system of plural voting prevails, the electors having one, two, or three votes each, according to the amount of property they own. The wealthy classes are not generally Socialists, and, therefore, the latter are outvoted. In the elections for members of the Reichstag, on the contrary, each elector has one vote, and the Socialists being numerically superior send men of their own choosing to the National Assembly.

The Chicago Tribune prints a page of information concerning the introduction of labor-saving devices and the hostility which working people have always shown to such innovations and says that machinery has increased employment for labor. It quotes Mulhall, who says that five men can now do, with machinery, as much work as eleven did in 1840 and that the working energy of the earth has, with machinery, increased nearly fourfold during the sixty years. But the Tribune, as is to be expected, is one-sided. It does not tell its readers that wages were never so small as today, measured by production. The five men of our day do not receive in wages as much as the eleven did in 1840. While the capitalists' opportunities to exploit the laborer and accumulate wealth have increased enormously, the wage of the workers has not increased in proportion to the marvelously increased facilities of production.

Senator Chandler says that "if competition must go (as a result of modern methods of production and the organization of trusts) the commercial travelers must go—not traveling, but out of existence." This is the rankest sort of economic heresy. Does not the senator know that as the development of industry and the adoption of machinery in production brings "no evil results" to the workingman, as the capitalist economists contend, so the inauguration of new methods of distribution, involving the displacement of the commercial travelers, can in no way injure the latter? There is really no evil in store for the drummers! If they lose their jobs all they have to do is to "turn to something else." See? To talk of going "out of existence" because one can see no way of getting a living is a damnable doctrine. The thing for the c. t.'s to do is to find out whether it would not be a good thing for the present system to "go out of existence."

Delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention, which meets at Detroit in a few days, ought to have sagacity enough and patriotism too little to do nothing to further the schemes of Mark Hanna and the Commerce Commission of New York to work congress for a subsidy in the interest of private capitalists who want to supply ships for the carrying trade of the United States. If Uncle Sam is able to build ships he should be able to own them and give the slave in the stokehole a chance to live the life of a man. That circular letter of the New York Commerce Commission which is being sent to "representative men in the ranks of organized labor" is purely a "con" game to tap the national treasury and should not be encouraged by organized labor on the plea by its promoters of "giving employment to our own workmen." There isn't a man among them, from Hanna up, who wouldn't give the employment to monkeys while "our own" starved, if there was money in it and monkeys could build ships.

An employee of the Pennsylvania road has invented a machine that will revolutionize the firing of locomotives, if it does all that is claimed for it, and we hope it will. Its work is to throw coal into the engine firebox with an even distribution. If the device is a success and is adopted generally by the railway companies it will displace several hundred thousand firemen and allow locomotives to be operated by one man instead of two. Firemen now do the work with shovels, throwing nineteen pounds to the shovelful on an average. The machine is arranged so that an engineer merely by turning a little wheel can place coal in a firebox at a speed of twenty-one cubic feet a second. The gigantic locomotives that are being used by a majority of the railroads consume coal by the ton and the duties of firemen have become so arduous that of late many have resigned their positions on account of overwork. The men say that unless invention comes to the rescue two firemen must be put on the big engines.

There probably is no branch of railroading that requires so much physical effort as that of firing engines. With a small or medium-sized locomotive the work is not so wearing, but with the giant affairs that are coming into general use the task of keeping up steam is a severe one.

SONG OF THE TRUST

Said the Monster Trust, "I am born of lust,
And a lustful horde I lead;
My dam was Desire, and my lawless sire
Is known to the world as Greed.
At the hour of my birth there was sorrow on earth;
Toil covered her face and wept.
And progress stood back as I rushed
down the track,
And blindfolded Justice slept.

"Like a mountain of snow, I grow and grow,
As the millionaires push me along—
They sing at their labor and crush their neighbor
Down under my weight with a song.
For the little men must make room for the Trust;
They must give up the right of way;
It is folly to fight with a thing of such might,
And a thing which has come to stay.

"As I roll on my path I leave sorrow and wrath,
But the millionaires laugh, and a bumper they quaff
To the Trust, the great monster of gold.
But they push me too fast, and the many, at last,
The many who curse and rave,
Shall seize me and bind me, and lo! they shall find me
A willing and competent slave.

"Though I flatten the purses and win the curses
Of thousands as I roll by,
Yet the time draweth near when in love, not in fear,
Shall the laborer look in my eye;
For the people shall claim me, and men shall rename me,
Though born and begotten of Greed.
I yet shall befriend them, I yet shall defend them,
Since only God's purpose can speed."
—Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

THE HAVERHILL COMBINE TO BEAT THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS IS A COMBINE EFFECTED BY POLITICIANS OF THE CAPITALISTIC CLASS AND EVERY WORKINGMAN WHO SUPPORTS IT REALLY GIVES HIS VOTE TO MAINTAIN A SYSTEM THAT MAKES HIM A SLAVE TO THAT CLASS. IN THE FACE OF SUCH A COMBINE WHAT BECOMES OF THE "CHERISHED PRINCIPLES" OF THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES?

WILL SOCIALISM ABOLISH EXPLOITATION

SOCIAL OWNERSHIP AND PROFIT

Exploitation Must Cease When the Instruments of Production and Distribution Have Become Social Property in the Hands of the Producers

By Rev. Chas. H. Vall

It is often supposed that laborers would still be exploited under Socialism. This error arises from the fact that Socialism does not necessarily demand that common ownership be immediately all-inclusive. The great instruments of production and distribution must become social property, this for the reason that such instruments are social in character. The aim of Socialism is to place in the hands of producers, the instruments of production. This requires the socialization of such instruments as have become social in character; that is, such tools as are co-operatively used. If, when Socialism is inaugurated, there are industries which are individual, these may be left for a time in private hands, but just as soon as the tools become social and the industry becomes socially organized, then social ownership will be necessary. Thus businesses of this character may remain in private hands for some time after the transaction, and even in other fields there would likely be no objection to the private ownership on a small scale of the social means of production. If such were permitted it does not follow that any would avail themselves of the privilege, and it certainly does not follow that exploitation would be possible even if they did.

Under Socialism no one could succeed in producing goods for sale in competition with the commonwealth any more than individual production can now compete with the social production of the trust. There is no statute today prohibiting men from carrying on production on a small scale, but nevertheless the small producers are becoming obsolete. They are unable to hold their own in the competitive combat. The advantages of social production are rendering individual production impossible. The disadvantages of individual production under Socialism would be still greater. Nevertheless, if any man should wish to make shoes, for instance, there would be no law prohibiting him, but his undertaking would not be successful, inasmuch as he could not produce them as cheaply as the collectivity. The cost of a pair of shoes under Socialist production would not be one-fourth their cost under individual production. A man would be foolish to produce shoes for sale which cost him four times the labor that he could get for them. He could not afford to put four hours' labor in an article which would bring him but one hour's labor in return. His labor in the social factory would produce as much in one hour as otherwise in four, and thus enable him to get in exchange for his one hour's labor as much as he could secure outside by four hours' labor. Thus he would not be able to profitably produce shoes, either for sale or for himself. Even the cobbler of today is not able to produce in competition with the large factory equipped with machinery.

"But," it is said (and here lies the fallacy that labor would continue to be exploited under Socialism), "could not the capitalist erect a large factory and introduce machinery and so produce as cheaply as the national factories?" This supposition presupposes that the capitalist could hire laborers and exploit them as today. But here, note, he could not hire laborers to work for him at all unless he paid them the full product of their toil, and if he did that there would be nothing left for himself, and the cost of the product—even if everything else were equal—would be no less than the social product. Laborers would not work for private producers for less than they could make working for themselves in the collectivity. Under Socialism laborers would receive the full value of the wealth they create; in other words, they would receive all they produce. No private producer could carry on production and give to his employees the entire product, consequently there could be no private production on a large scale. No laws, then, need be introduced prohibiting the private ownership of the means of production; such ownership will be limited by positive social action.

Under Socialism, as today, large production would develop and absorb, through the natural power of attraction, the small branches of industry. Thus industries which at first are left in private hands will gradually become organized. This development, however, under Socialism, will not be accompanied by the evils necessitated by capitalism. Today if a small producer is transformed from a worker in a small field into a

worker in a large field, it means his transformation from a property holder into a proletarian. But under Socialism the absorption of the small industry by the large one would render the middle class man a partner in the improved and enlarged industry, where he would participate in the advantages of the large production. The downfall of the small producer is inevitable. Under Socialism the absorption would not be accompanied by ruin and misery, and so all industries, which are now carried on by inferior methods and which are capable of socialization, would soon pass into the hands of the collectivity.

There are some vocations which may never be completely socialized. Thus while there would be social organization of medical attendants, yet there may also be private physicians. If any one should wish to part with any portion of his income to secure private medical attendance there would be no objection. Undoubtedly for a time after the transition many people may retain private physicians, but there is every reason to believe that the public service would be superior to the private service and would soon become paramount. Even today public hospitals are encroaching on the individual practice of physicians, the same as public schools are driving out private schools. All such services, then, such as physicians, artists, etc., which cannot be easily centralized, may, in a measure at least and for a time, be left to private payment.

One thing is certain, however, whatever vocations are temporarily left in private hands, the vocation of the laborer will be relegated into innocuous desuetude.

Socialism will abolish all exploitation.

Pay to Brains

The Boston & Maine and the New York & Hartford railroads have consolidated and President Tullihill is to receive \$150,000 a year salary. Any fool can run the United States for \$50,000 a year salary, but it takes brains to run these little railroads and only by paying \$150,000 a year can they be secured! Of course what these fellows draw is nothing to you and I, for we do nothing except to pay the tariff out of which they draw their salary! You often hear some thoughtless fellow tell how the roads do not make anything and show the price of stocks to prove it! Just as if the stocks were anything more than pieces of paper that the management has printed to gamble with! But suppose the roads paid five times as much as they do without any increase in expense, and the management should vote to pay those officers who control it all the increase in the shape of extra salaries, would you then claim that the roads did not pay? Now that is just what is done. In the shape of high salaries and dividends on capital that has never been invested all the receipts are eaten up and the fellows who really put up the money to build the roads never get any dividends. If the public owned and operated the roads the Railroad-General, like the Postmaster-General, would control the system for \$8,000 a year, and there would be no lack of competent men wanting the place. Such salaries as \$150,000 are only theft thinly veneered, and you know it.—Appeal to Reason.

The Causes of Poverty

In a table of the causes of poverty, as tabulated by Prof. Warner of Stanford university, it appears that 74.4 per cent of poverty is due to causes for which the individual is not directly to blame, and only 21.3 per cent due to causes for which the individual is to blame.

A still more recent table, published by the American Statistical association, based on records of charity organization societies, gives the following percentages of causes: Lack of employment: New York, 48 per cent; Baltimore, 43; six smaller cities, 35. Sickness: New York, 18; Baltimore, 18; smaller cities, 35. Intemperance and shiftlessness: New York, 18; Baltimore, 13; smaller cities, 20. Miscellaneous: New York, 14; Baltimore, 21; smaller cities, 17.

Even when the poverty is caused by moral weakness and vice—what causes that? Science answers almost categorically, "Environment." Hence it may be said that poverty is the result of individual and social causes, and that the individual causes are mainly the result of social causes. These are the monopolization of the sources of labor, and of the means of labor—the wickedness of making existence depend on a scramble for money, in which the strong own even the opportunities of the weak to work. The only cure is land and machinery for all in a co-operative civilization.—Social Reform Union Bulletin.

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SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS, VICTOR L. BERGER
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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, DEC. 2, 1899.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

Has a Word to Say on the Subject of the Union of Socialists

To the Socialists of America,

The National Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party of America, recognizing the importance of unity in the socialist movement and realizing that the present is an auspicious time for increased exertion in the cause of Socialism, sends greeting to all socialist comrades everywhere in the United States, and cordially invites them without regard to their former affiliations, or non-affiliations, to join with the Social Democratic Party in a renewed effort to further the socialist cause.

The Social Democratic Party has ever, since its organization eighteen months ago, devoted itself to socialist propaganda, and has endeavored to the best of its ability, to abstain from recognizing any personal controversies among socialists, ignoring all personal attacks upon the personnel both of its individual members and its own organization. It is believed that all such attacks were best answered by silence, leaving the efflux of time to demonstrate their injustice.

Many sincere and earnest socialists who have been misled by such unfounded attacks and misunderstandings, now admit time has demonstrated their entire want of foundation.

The Social Democratic Party cherishes ill feeling towards none of these socialists, who have heretofore opposed it, believing them to have been misled in the matter.

The Social Democratic Party therefore extends a cordial invitation to all socialists, whether hitherto opposing it, or otherwise, to unite with it and share its efforts to socialize production and distribution, assuring all who join it of its cordial and fraternal sympathy, and its willingness to heartily co-operate with them in the common cause in which all earnest socialists are engaged.

The National Executive Board of the Social Democratic Party of America:

JESSE COX, Chairman.
SEYMOUR STEDMAN.
EUGENE V. DEBS.
FREDERIC HEATH.
VICTOR L. BERGER.

THEODORE DEBS, National Secretary.
Chicago, Nov. 24, 1899.

CARROLL WRIGHT, PESSIMIST

Mr. Carroll D. Wright, who has for many years occupied the position of Commissioner of Labor, is out with a most doleful and pessimistic asseveration on the labor problem. So gloomy a view does this official take of the present condition and outlook for labor that his resignation would be in order. He makes certain admissions which it will be interesting to Herald readers to have in condensed form; a study of them will afford Socialists not only instruction but genuine encouragement. Here we have Mr. Wright's hopeless verdict on the labor problem, after an admission that it has plagued mankind since the beginning of recorded time;

1. All the solutions thus far tried or advanced are valueless.
2. Factory inspection, which was advocated as a panacea for all ills of workingmen, has not lessened their discontent.
3. Fewer hours of work were recommended and they were reduced in some cases from thirteen to eight, but, while workingmen are more intelligent than they were, the labor question is more discussed than ever.
4. Arbitration, which has been urged as a cure-all, he says, "in no wise lessens the fundamental struggle."
5. Legal or compulsory arbitration he denounces, and says "it would lead to the militarism which existed in the ages we have happily passed."
6. Co-operation is put on one side as impossible.

7. He has no more faith in profit-sharing than in co-operation; and, finally—

8. Prohibition will not solve the problem, for, he says, "it will throw back on the farmers sixty million bushels of grain, remove a million men from their positions and take a thousand millions of dollars out of the channels of trade."

We say that these conclusions of our experienced commissioner, while presenting no ground for hope to the advocates of reforms or palliatives, can only serve to strengthen and encourage the Socialist. If "all the solutions thus far advanced are valueless"—and Socialists have no lingering doubts on that point—then modern society is absolutely compelled to look in the direction of what is historically and economically necessary—that is, to Socialism. None of the "solutions" have brought peace and contentment; none of them have lessened the fundamental struggle. This struggle, Mr. Wright concedes, is due to "discontent with existing conditions," and though workingmen are more intelligent than they were this "insoluble" problem is discussed more than ever.

Our pessimistic commissioner does not say why it is that a growing intelligence brings with it a greater restlessness and discontent. Neither does he take cognizance of the fact that an expansion of the intellectual horizon of the working class necessarily brings the existing system under condemnation by that class. The singular fact about this growing intelligence is that discontent with existing conditions necessarily accompanies it, and wherever intelligence is greatest among the working class the inadequacy of all panaceas and much vaunted solutions was seen before Mr. Wright began to look upon the labor problem in such hopeless fashion. More than that, a growing intelligence brings a growing conception of the truth that the conscious elements of civilization are and of right should be the possessors of the unconscious elements; that the class which has made civilization should enjoy it; that the working class, which creates wealth, should be the masters of wealth; that a system which is supported by labor exists only to exploit the laborer; that a better system is possible, necessary and inevitable, and that the better system is Socialism.

If Mr. Wright will now retire and look on the rising intelligence of the working class he will find a solution to the labor problem—and they will find it, though he should stick to his pessimism and his office.

GRONLUND AND HIS IDEALS

In the course of a reminiscent conversation of some well-known persons, says the New York Commercial Advertiser, a man who knows every social reformer in town told the following story:

"It was in the fall of 1889. I was in Boston on business and had to stay over Sunday. On Sunday morning, as I took a stroll through the Common, my attention was arrested by a man who was reading a book as he sauntered along the walk. He was in the prime of life, blond, handsome, strong, and he was so absorbed in the book, which he held with both hands, that the passers-by who stopped to look at him had an uncomfortable feeling, lest he should run against a tree and hurt himself. But he did not. He walked on and on in a perfectly straight line. Once or twice he raised his face—a good, intellectual face—but it did not look as if he were conscious of anything except the contents of his book.

"A few months ago—that is, nearly ten years after the scene I referred to took place—as I was pushing and picking my way near the corner of Park row and Chambers street, I caught sight of a man reading a book as he walked leisurely through the medley of cabs, cars, wagons and wide-awake pedestrians. In the hours of heavy traffic it is one of the most dangerous places to pass in town. Yet the man plodded along as leisurely as he would pace his room, without even raising his eyes from his book. The man was poorly dressed. His hair and beard were gray, and altogether he looked underfed, sickly and decrepit.

"I followed him out of the jumble. My heart sank as I saw him pass between trucks, delivery wagons and what not. But he got out safely, as if some supreme power was guiding him. Then I saw him dig his hand into his pocket and pull out a water roll, which he began to eat without removing his eyes from the book in his hand. At last he paused to light his pipe. I started. It was the same man I had seen on the Boston common. It was Laurence Gronlund, the author of 'The Co-Operative Commonwealth,' 'Danton and the French Revolution,' 'Our Destiny' and 'The New Economy,' for in the interval between the meetings I had been introduced to him and during his stay in New York some nine years ago I saw a good deal of him.

"I recalled myself to him and we had a chat. He was happy. He had been out of a job for years and now he wrote labor editorials for a newspaper. Of course he was glad of the job, but he was still more delighted with the chance it gave him to speak to a large audience. He always had something to say about the way to make the world better than it is, and his great trouble was how to get large crowds to hear him. His books

have a considerable circulation, but that was not enough for him. He had something to say every day.

"He had had many advantageous offers. He could have been a rich man, for he had brains, and there were rich men who were willing to hire his head and to pay well for it. But he only smiled. The work which they wanted him to do had nothing to do with Socialism.

"I saw him once when he was in the lowest depths of poverty. He was simply starved, yet when he began to speak of humanity he brightened up. His friends were anxious to do something for him, but all he wanted was that they should let him teach them his ideals.

"And so he worked until his death the other day."

REVOLUTION IN TELEGRAPHY

The Chicago Tribune of Nov. 23 gave the following interesting account of astonishing results attending the first test in this country of the new Virag-Pollak system of telegraphy:

"Messages were telegraphed from the Tribune office to Milwaukee, Wis., and back again yesterday at the rate of 122,000 words an hour. This extraordinary performance was achieved by the Pollak-Virag rapid automatic telegraph and was the first demonstration of the invention's capabilities ever made outside of Budapest, Hungary.

"The demonstration was in the nature of a preliminary test of the machine, but it was given unusual significance by the fact that messages were sent a greater distance than ever before was attempted by the inventors. After the Milwaukee test was made the apparatus was attached to a loop extending from the Tribune office to Buffalo, N. Y., and back again over wires furnished through the courtesy of the Western Union Telegraph company and messages were sent over this loop at the rate of 90,000 words an hour. The distance of this transmission is 1,062 miles. From Budapest to Berlin, less than 700 miles, is the longest distance heretofore attempted.

"The operation of the apparatus is in the hands of the inventors, Anton Pollak and Josef Virag. They arrived in Chicago one week ago and had intended to make the tests of their invention earlier, but were delayed by lack of some necessary electrical appliances which had to be supplied.

"While 90,000 words an hour were whizzing to Buffalo and back there came a blur in the receiver which temporarily stopped further experimentation. This was due to an excessive voltage that caused induction. This, it was explained, can be overcome easily, and as soon as some resistance coils, which are being made, are received, the public tests will be given.

"For the purposes of these tests the apparatus of the Hungarian inventors, which was brought from Budapest, was set up in the library of the Tribune. When everything was ready, Herr Virag, who was alone at the time, turned the crank of the sender, and instantly there were flashed on the testing screen the signs of the dots and dashes of the Morse code written in lines of electric light.

"Over and over again the message was repeated over a short loop. It began slowly, but gradually the inventor increased the speed until it reached the rate of 40,000 words an hour. Then he raised it to 100,000 words, and did not stop until the signals were being written on the screen at the rate of 140,000 words an hour.

"In the afternoon Dr. Barclay came to the assistance of the inventors, and placed at their disposal the Western Union wires to Milwaukee and return and to Buffalo and return. This was done so that tests could be made at long distances, with the sender and receiver both in the Tribune office. When the last detail is completed Herr Virag will go to Buffalo and send a message from there to the Tribune office. After that he will go to New York and make a similar demonstration, and then the instruments will be reversed and messages will be sent from the Tribune office to New York.

"In sending and receiving a message over the Pollak-Virag system it is first necessary that the message be translated into the Morse code. This is done now by the Wheatstone perforator, which punches holes in a strip of paper tape. In the upper side of the tape a hole represents a "dash" and in the lower side a "dot." This tape is placed so as to run from one spool to another, passing over a brass drum. As it passes over the drum two wire brushes run on it, one rubbing along the course of the "dots" and the other on the half of the strip in which the "dashes" are punched. Whenever a hole in the paper tape permits the wires of the brush to come in contact with the brass drum it closes the circuit.

"The impulses thus made are communicated to a telephone receiver, whose diaphragm vibrates in response. These vibrations record the message. To accomplish this a small steel rod bearing a tiny mirror is fastened to the center of the diaphragm. A small incandescent light is placed so that its rays strike this mirror. The mirror reflects a slender beam of light, which passes through a tube into a drum, where it strikes a sheet of sensitized paper on a spool and writes the message. The mirror dances as the diaphragm vibrates, and the beam which it reflects into the drum dances along

the sensitized paper and leaves its trail. That is the message.

"This sheet of paper is taken out and 'developed,' as any photographer would be. When that is done the trail of the slender beam of light appears as a continuous black line describing acute angles, some of which point up and some down. A telegrapher may read them quickly, for every angle pointing up represents a "dash" and those pointing down represent "dots."

"The inventors make claim for their apparatus that it will be of great utility because it will enable a single wire to transmit the extraordinary number of 140,000 words an hour. At present a telegrapher will click off less than 2,000 words an hour.

"Attorney Weiner said that the invention is to be put in the hands of a big company and that is being done now by the Guardian Trust company of this city. The share out of American rights in this invention to go to the inventors, he said, would be in the neighborhood of \$3,000,000."

THE REFERENDUM

At a full meeting of the National Executive Board, held Nov. 12, the following proposed basis of representation to the approaching national convention at Indianapolis (the date of which has already been decided by the membership for the first Tuesday in March, 1900) was unanimously adopted and is referred to the branch organizations:

First—Each branch shall be entitled to as many representatives as the individual members thereof in good standing may select for that purpose; provided, that each representative shall be entitled to one (1) vote for each member whose signature is attached to his credential; and provided further, that no member shall have his signature attached to more than one credential.

Second—Branches not sending their own representatives may select those of other branches of the same state to represent them; provided, that in each such case the representative shall hold the proper credential with the signatures of members attached as herein provided.

Third—No member shall be qualified to serve as representative or entitled to representation who has not been a member of the party at least thirty (30) days prior to the opening day of the convention.

Fourth—All signatures of members attached to credentials shall be certified to by the Chairman or Secretary of their respective branches.

Fifth—The National Secretary shall furnish each branch with a sufficient number of blank credentials for the purpose herein specified.

The branches should take action upon the foregoing without delay; the vote will be counted on Thursday, Dec. 21, and the branch desiring its vote included in the report must send the result to the National Secretary on or before Dec. 20. Members will vote "yes" or "no" on the proposition as it stands. This is necessary to insure an early settlement of the question.

Jesse Cox, Chairman.

Seymour Stedman, Secretary.

Bill Anthony, Suicide

Brave "Bill" Anthony, marine orderly, who, while the battleship Maine was settling to the bottom of Havana bay, made his famous report to Captain Sigsbee, died Nov. 24, a suicide. At Havana, with a salute, he calmly said: "I have, sir, to report that the Maine is blown up, and is sinking." That report—the essence of courage and discipline—was made when death seemed to be certain. The report he made today to the hospital doctors when in the grasp of death was as calm as that made on the deck of the sinking man-of-war.

"I'm William Anthony, a marine," he said. "I have taken poison. I am going to die."

Anthony went into Central Park from Fifth avenue at the Seventy-ninth street entrance at 2 p. m. today. He had obtained a half ounce of hydrochloric acid of cocaine and several murate of cocaine crystals. He took a seat on a bench near the entrance.

Policeman Stevens noticed the man draw from his pocket a photo, which he tenderly kissed. In an hour, when the policeman returned, the body of the man was swaying backward and forward on the bench. Stevens grasped him about the body and summoned an ambulance of the Presbyterian hospital.

"I'm discouraged and disconsolate," Anthony explained. "I couldn't get work, and I thought it was best to end it all."

When the ambulance reached the Presbyterian hospital Anthony got out of the wagon and walked with firm step into the hospital office. Here he told who he was, and then showed the picture of a handsome young woman, saying:

"Bury it with me. She is a noble little woman, and deserved better than I could give her."

The doctors hurried him to the accident ward. Anthony said he had taken cocaine. They gave him vigorous treatment, but he died at 4:50 o'clock, with the name of his wife, "Dell," on his lips.

Anthony made deliberate arrangements for taking his life. He went to the house of Mrs. Ed Kreitsch, his wife's aunt, at 109 East Seventy-fifth street,

shortly before 2 o'clock, and there wrote this letter:

"New York, Nov. 24.—My Dear Aunt Nett: Please do as I require in my note today of this afternoon. I am discouraged and disconsolate. It is better to end it all. Don't encourage Dell to come down until she wishes to come. She is the best and noblest woman on earth, and deserves better than I can give her. In case she should come, love our little boy as you would your own. Your unhappy WILL."

At the hospital the photograph of Anthony's wife was found in his breast pocket. On it was written, "Bury this with me."

During the last two months "Bill" Anthony has been looking for work. He wanted to go back with Captain Sigsbee, and influence was used to have him made a sergeant. Promotion, however, did not come.

With six stripes on his sleeve and little hope of further advancement, Anthony, after thirty years, quit the service of Uncle Sam. Then his efforts to obtain work were fruitless.

Anthony was married to Miss Amelia Maud Blacett on Oct. 15 of last year. One child was born to them, a boy, christened "Bill."

MERLIN'S MIXTURE

"GOD WILLS IT SO!"

Poem for the Plous

There's no din of battle riot—
Cannon's crash or bugle sound,
But amid industrial quiet
Deadly conflict rages 'round.
Now the Socialistic forces
Strike a fate-deciding blow;
Human right 'gainst greed's resources.
Speed the right! God wills it so!

'Tis by no mere human chancing
That the present path is trod;
But the steady, sure advancing
Of the purpose of our God.
Down beneath mankind's conniving
To abolish want and woe,
And above the battle's striving
Ring the words, "God wills it so!"

Through the land the message, ringing,
Bids each waiting foeman rise,
And, aside all hindrance flinging,
Let us press on to the prize.
This no time for feud or faction,
In the struggle with the foe;
This the time for allied action
'Gainst the wrong. God wills it so!

Rise, ye God-enfranchised voter!
Rise in all your legal might!
God, the power, and you, the motor,
Will secure the reign of right.
Not by bullet, but by ballot,
Can we Mammon overthrow
By the Socialistic mallet
It must fall. God wills it so.

Forward, honest politicians,
If the breed be not extinct;
See your God-appointed missions
To the S. D. party linked.
Cleave no more to parties hoary,
But a nobler manhood show.
Truest fame and brightest glory
Comes from Him who wills it so.

Up, ye men of Methodism—
Followers of Wesley's creed;
Lay aside the catechism
Till our gold-cursed land be freed.
"Saved by faith," will do on Sunday,
And the heavenward pathway show;
But "by votes" alone will Monday
Tell if God has willed it so.

Followers of Knox and Calvin,
Ye elect from Adam's fall,
If you e'er elections shall win,
You must vote to rescue all.
Of elections there's another
One above, but this below;
Merit one, but use the other
In the way God wills it so.

Rouse, then, proud Episcopalian,
To the duties of the hour.
Shall the atheistic alien
Use for God a greater power?
Mere support of state and nation,
Ceremonial candle show,
Can atone for no negation
To the vote that God wills so.

Ye who have a Baptist's notion
That immersion pardon wins,
Know that not the vastest ocean
Shall wash out your social sins.
When you plunge, with hands outreach-
ing,
In the sea of human woe,
You will find a moral bleaching
In the act. God wills it so.

Men of all denominations,
'Tis the time for speech and deed;
Preach no more to congregations
Dull abstractions of a creed.
See the will of God impelling,
As we to the conflict go.
Let the pulpit trumpet, swelling,
Tell the world, "God wills it so."

'Tis the hand of God; asserting
Sovereign sway o'er grasping wrong,
And by human force converting
Slaying wail to freedom's song.
Shall we, in the future ages,
Think with joy of long ago,
When, in turning o'er life's pages,
We shall find, "WE WILLED
IT SO?"

AMONG THE BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 25c per month.

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch (San Francisco) of the Social Democratic Party holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8 p.m. Admission free. Branch 1, Los Angeles, Cal., meets every Tuesday evening at 8 o'clock in the room of the Friday Morning Club, 330 1/2 South Broadway. J. H. Gill, President. C. C. Ford, 623 W. 27th St., Secretary.

COLORADO

Colorado Branch No. 1 of the Social Democratic Party, meets every Sunday eve at Woodman's Hall, 1715 California St., Denver, Colo., 7 p.m. T. H. Gibbs, Chairman; Mrs. Ida Mercer, Secretary, 1730 Washington St.

CONNECTICUT

Branch 2 (Conn.), New Haven, meets 1st and 3rd Tuesday to 4th Monday at 8 p.m. at 150 W. 1st St. Secretary Cornelius Mahoney, 165 Frank St. All readers of Social Democratic Herald are invited to attend meetings.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesday of each month, at Dr. J. H. Greer's office, 52 Dearborn St.

Branch 1 of Illinois, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening at 8 p.m. at 150 W. 1st St. Secretary, Thomas Kirwin, 504 Westworth Ave.

Branch 2, Chicago, Ill., Bohemian, meets 2nd and 4th Sunday at 2 p.m. at Nagel's Hall, 333 Blue Island Ave. Secretary, Vaclav Jelinek, 606 Blue Island Ave.

Branch 3, Chicago, Ill., meets 2nd and 4th Monday of each month at Jos. Dundras' office, 100 W. 18th Place. Secretary, Frank Ort, 966 W. 18th St.

Branch 4, Chicago, meets every first and third Monday evenings of the month, at 209 St. Louis Ave. Secretary, Mrs. Mary Horgan, 1455 Fulton St.

Branch No. 5 Illinois meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month at Frank Lang's, 117 W. 18th street, corner Jefferson street. Secretary, Paul Chlapacka, 47 Rubie St.

Branch 6 (German), Chicago, meets every Saturday in each month, at eight o'clock at Nagel's Hall, 333 Blue Island avenue, near 18th street. Albin Geisler, 726 W. 20th street.

Branch 7, Chicago, meets at Lundquist Hall, corner 61st and Morgan streets, every first and third Thursday. S. L. Westine, Secretary, 624 Center Ave.

INDIANA

Branch No. 6, Indiana, meets first Saturday evening and 3rd Sunday afternoon of each month at Hetchewin's Hall, corner Market and Noble streets, Indianapolis.

Branch No. 1, Maryland, meets every Sunday at 8 p.m. at Carpenter's Hall, 506 E. Baltimore street. Public invited. E. W. Timson, 23 Albany St., Sec. Treas.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, Md., meets every Monday at 8 p.m. at 141 W. German St., Secretary, Frank Marek, 108 N. Gay St.

MASSACHUSETTS

Branch 2, Holyoke, Mass., meets second and fourth Monday of each month at Springfield. Turner Hall. Organizer, H. Schlichting, 20 James street.

Branch 3, Lynn, Mass., permanent headquarters 2 Summer St., near Market St., business meeting every Monday night at 7:30 p.m. Open house. Public invited. E. W. Timson, 23 Albany St., Sec. Treas.

Branch No. 4, Brockton, meets the 1st and 3rd Tuesday of each month for business in Cutter's Hall, Clark's Block, Cor. Main and Center streets. Secretary, Frank S. Walsh, No. 232 W. 1st Street.

Branch 15, Massachusetts-East Boston-meets every Monday at 8 p.m. at 99 Chelsea St. Miss Cecy Segal, 99 Chelsea St., Sec.

Branch 16, Chelsea, Mass., meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. room 2, postoffice building, Chelsea. Alfred B. Outram, Sec., 72 Ash St.

Branch 18, Newburyport, meets the second Monday of each month at Lester's Hall, 1 State St. E. F. McLean, Sec., 39 Winter St.; G. H. Evans, Treas., Prince Place.

Branch No. 21, Chelsea, Mass., permanent headquarters 21 Chelsea St., 2nd floor. Open every evening. Business meetings every Thursday at 8 p.m. Public invited.

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the 1st Saturday of each month at 724 Washington St., Boston. All dues and money intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 704 Springfield St., Boston. For information concerning ward branches inquire at the above address.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, Minn., meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Geaswein, on Main St. Wm. H. Randall, Sec.

MISSOURI

St. Louis headquarters—Room 7, 22 No. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches inquire at the above address.

Branch 7, Missouri, meets every Tuesday at 8 p.m. at 130 Union Ave., Kansas City. G. J. Storz, 1200 W. 5th St., Sec.

NEW YORK

Branch 18 (4th Assembly Dist., N. Y.), meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday of the month at the rooms of the Police of Labor, 107 Henry St. Jacob Paakeo, 139 Division St., Org.

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every 1st and 3rd Thursday at 8 p.m. at 11 Clinton St. Secretary, A. Guyer, 163 Suffolk St.

Branch 4, New York (24th Assembly District), meets every 2nd and 4th Monday of the month at 24 E. 6th St. L. Funcke, 239 E. 56th St., Sec.

Branch No. 4 (West Side Branch) meets second and fourth Thursdays of every month at their headquarters, 189 West 99th St. Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

Branch No. 11, Brooklyn, N. Y. Headquarters Social Democratic Party, 251 Rutledge Street, meets every 3rd Thursday at 8:15 sharp. A. Persons interested in Socialism and the Social Democratic Party are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate with us in organizing local branches in every district in the city.

Branch No. 12, Brooklyn, N. Y. Headquarters Social Democratic Party, 251 Rutledge St., Secretary, Wm. Butcher, 251 Rutledge St., Secretary.

Branch No. 13, Brooklyn, N. Y. (25th Assembly District), meets 1st and 3rd Thursdays of each month at Faulhaber's Hall, 1551 Second Avenue, New York City. Secretary, R. Hoppe, 233 E. 54th St.

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity meets first and third Tuesdays of every month in Willis's Hall, 8 E. Fourth street, Elizabeth H. Thomas, Secretary.

OHIO

Branch No. 2, Ohio, Cleveland, meets in Ohio's Hall, 65 York Street, second and fourth Sundays, at 8 p.m. Lectures, discussions, business meeting, first and third Fridays at 8 p.m.

Branch No. 3, Cleveland, Ohio, meets first and third Sundays to each month at 8 p.m. in Ohio's Hall, No. 6 York Street. Lectures and discussions. Secretary, Chas. D. Linsley, 1313 S. Auburn street.

Branch 4, Cincinnati, Ohio, meets at Richelieu Hall, southeast corner Ninth and Plum streets, second and fourth Sundays to each month, at 2:30 p.m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Secretary, Chas. D. Linsley, 1313 S. Auburn street.

Branch 5, Cincinnati, meets every 2nd and 4th Sunday, in Workingmen's Hall, 1215 Walnut St. Secretary, J. L. Frank, 1215 Walnut St.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch 2, Erie, Pa., meets every Saturday afternoon at 2 p.m. at 116 State Street. Chairman, Chas. Heydrick; Secretary, Geo. B. Laird, 22 W. 5th St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, Pa., meets every Thursday evening at 8 p.m. at Funk Hall, South 5th and Josephine Sts. President, W. Behn, 344 Addison St. Secretary, J. H. Lewis, 111 Jane St.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish) of Pennsylvania, meets every Friday at 6:15 South Third Street, Philadelphia, at 7:30. Discussion from 8 to 9. J. Pearson, Secretary.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Thursday evening of the month at the Ethical Society Building, 558 Jefferson St. Secretaries always welcome. Howard Tuttle, chairman. Eugene H. Rooney, secretary.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Geatke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.

NEW BRANCH

A fine new branch has been instituted at Hiteam, Iowa, as a result of Eugene V. Debs' recent visit to that mining section. The greatest enthusiasm prevails among the members, who confidently expect to have in a short time one of the strongest branches in the country. Officers have been elected as follows: Chairman, S. B. Jamison; vice-chairman, M. D. Lewis; secretary, Joseph Schollart; treasurer, P. A. Anderson; organizers, James Fisher and E. W. Isaacs.

Socialist Propaganda

One of the really encouraging signs of the times is the fact that so many of Comrade Debs' lectures are given under the auspices of trade-union organizations. Wherever he goes great interest is manifested by members of the various trade unions. On his present eastern trip he spoke at Troy and Rochester, N. Y., and Bradford, Pa., by arrangement with the local Central Labor union or Federation of Labor at each place. This was true also of his western trip. There is something prophetic of the future of labor in the country when in addition to audiences that fill the largest halls procurable, the economics and truths of Socialism are gladly received by trade unionists. The splendid propaganda which Comrade Debs is making for Socialism undiluted and unlimited by compromise middle-class reforms, has never been equaled by any lecturer in this country.

New York State Committee

A joint meeting of the New York S. D. P. was held at 85 East Fourth street, Nov. 21, to consider the reorganization of the city central committee, and the creation of a new committee for state organization. The meetings of the city central committee having been very poorly attended, it was at first proposed to abolish this committee altogether by merging it in a new state committee. It was finally decided, however, to retain the city central committee, and to urgently recommend that each district send active and efficient delegates to the meetings of this committee.

A new committee of nine (six from New York and three from Brooklyn) for state organization was then elected, as follows: Comrades Butcher (Brooklyn), Phillips, Abbott, London, Meade (Brooklyn), Burke (Brooklyn), Sanger, Miss Wien and Miss Thomas. Leonard D. Abbott, Secretary.

Lynn City Ticket

The Social Democratic party at Lynn, Mass., met in convention Nov. 16 and nominated a full city ticket, as follows: Mayor, E. W. Timson; aldermen, William Jackman, Ambrose Miles, F. Stone, O. Jones, William Hitchcock, Frank Lee, B. W. Gedney, C. H. Weeks, J. Click. Cassimir Cloutier was nominated for assessor at large. For the school committee the following were nominated: Dr. J. A. Keown, Mrs. E. J. Hitchcock, Frances Hamilton and Helen N. Allen.

For the common council: First ward, E. A. Byron; Second ward, A. J. Townsend; Third ward, O. Staples, J. Dennis, L. Cunningham, H. Gotsmer; Fourth ward, E. Green, Washington King, E. F. Robinson, Frank Crabtree, A. Ladd; Fifth ward, H. G. Wright, S. R. Polk, H. J. Rolfe; Sixth ward, J. Cusick, M. P. Haggerty, Paul Poole, D. H. Sterke, W. Watson; Seventh ward, I. O. Davis.

The following city committee was elected to fill all vacancies: G. Gedney, G. A. Kliks, M. Powers, George J. Barrett, F. Weed. Ernest W. Timson, the Social Democratic candidate for mayor of Lynn, was born in Leicester, England, in 1868, coming to America in 1892 and allying himself with the Lynn Lasters' union, serving two terms on the executive board, and two terms as president of the Central Labor union, and is now president of the Lasters' Aid association. He was a charter member of the Social Democracy, helped to start the branch in this city, and has run for offices several times on the Social Democratic ticket, polling over 400 votes last fall as a candidate for the common council from the Fifth ward. He is a member of the A. O. U. W. and also of the Sons of St. George.

Have your card inserted in the **BRANCH DIRECTORY, 25 Cents per Month.** It will help you in the work in your locality.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN CONNECTICUT

The comrades at Rockville, Conn., have nominated a full city ticket for the election which occurs Dec. 4, and adopted the following municipal platform:

"To the end that the people may obtain the benefit of monopolization of public utilities instead of private corporations and to eliminate a constant source of corruption from city politics.

"We demand first—The city to own and operate all street railways, water, gas and electric light plants.

"Second—The abolition of the contract system for all city work. Eight hours shall constitute a day's work for all departments; all wages to conform with the union scale of prices.

"Third—Direct employment by the city in all branches of the municipal service; preference being to citizens.

"Fourth—The municipal government shall do all in its power to assist the unemployed, not through charity, but to inaugurate a system of public works for their employment.

"Fifth—The city to buy and operate a steam roller and stone crusher for the improvement of streets.

"Sixth—The city shall furnish to its laborers all the necessary tools and implements free of cost.

"Seventh—Municipal taxes should be so levied that the large property owners shall pay their just share in order that the burden of taxation shall fall with equal weight on all."

The full ticket nominated is as follows: For mayor, Wm. P. Lonergan; city clerk, Francis McVeigh; city treasurer, August Spielman; sheriff, Francis J. Quinlan; auditor, August Kellner; assessors, Willie Orent and Adolph Gundersman; first ward, Wm. H. Potterton for alderman and E. F. Pike for councilman; second ward, Thomas Smith, councilman; third ward, Gustave Spielman, alderman, and Henry Theurer for councilman; fourth ward, Louis Schlaf for councilman.

THE MOVEMENT FOR UNION OF SOCIALISTS

Interesting Correspondence Between B. Feigenbaum of New York and James F. Carey

The Herald gladly complies with the request of the writers of the following letter that they be published in these columns. There is no member of the Social Democratic party who will not rejoice over the prospect of an early establishment of true comradeship with that large section of the Socialist Labor party which, at last, has freed itself from what Comrade Feigenbaum calls "the malign influence of the mind poisoners," and whose dominance, everywhere and persistently harmful as it has been to the cause of Socialism in the United States, is now happily nearing its end. Whatever lingering effect that influence may have in a few localities will be neutralized and finally disappear before the entente cordiale which at this time is gradually forming and is destined, possibly, to culminate in a practical union of Socialist parties.

It is proper to say that the national executive board of the Social Democratic party has not been indifferent to the present status of the general movement. At its last meeting this was the subject of serious discussion, and steps were taken to bring out the attitude of the board in relation to it.

"New York, Nov. 6, 1899.
"Mr. James F. Carey, Haverhill, Mass. Dear Comrade: In full appreciation of your silence to the calumnies of D. DeLeon, concerning your action in office, I nevertheless would deem it your duty, in the interest of the Socialist movement in this country, to give now your explanation concerning the vile 'charges' of the professional character assassin. And that for the following reason:

"You will, I hope, admit that you and the comrades in your party would not have deemed it necessary to organize a new party if you had found the S. L. P. in the state it now is. You will, I trust, also admit that the interest of the Socialist movement in this country urgently requires the consolidation of the two parties, and that before the presidential nominations, against which consolidation there can be no scruples on either side, if prejudices and personal animosities can only be done away with.

"Now, such prejudices are innocently maintained by many in our (S. L. P.) ranks because of the malign influence of the deposed mind poisoners. Not having heard any contradiction, they are still under the horror of the 'armory Debocracy,' etc.

"I therefore beg you, in the name of harmony in the Socialist movement, which we are all awaiting so very longingly, to publicly answer the following questions:

"1. What was the sense of your voting for armories?

"2. Why did Comrade Chase, when elected mayor, appoint a democrat as his private secretary?

"3. Do you believe in fusing with other parties or reformers in any shape or manner?

"4. Why did you withdraw from the S. L. P. while in office, without living

up to your imperative mandate and pledge to that party, according to which you were to resign office when resigning the party?

"I hope you will answer these questions to the conviction of all liberal-minded S. L. P. members and thus render a great service to the approaching understanding of the two parties. For this purpose, please send this letter and your answer to the Social Democratic Herald, the People (184 William street, of course), and as many other Socialist papers as you deem it advisable. Yours for Socialist harmony.

"B. Feigenbaum."

CAREY'S REPLY

"Haverhill, Mass., Nov. 14, 1899.

"B. Feigenbaum, Daily Volkszeitung, New York City.—Dear Comrade: I thank you for the opportunity to aid in whatever degree I may in bringing about a union of the forces in America that proclaim the Social Revolution.

"If it be decided that I have committed, by any of my acts, an unpardonable sin, yet the necessity, the merit, of a union of forces is so apparent that, should I stand in the way of such union, I willingly, gladly step aside, and I am sure that Comrade Chase and every other comrade in Haverhill would do the same if such act would aid in uniting the Socialist forces of America.

"I believe an honorable union of the S. D. P. and the S. L. P., with which you are associated, can be effected. I believe it should be done without unnecessary delay. I believe fraternity can replace estrangement, and from that fraternity would spring a greater enthusiasm, a quickening hope, and a grander courage for the cause of labor's emancipation, and I assure you that I will work to that end.

"I will attempt to answer your questions in the order in which they are put, but I most sincerely trust that whatever may be the effect of the explanations given, the movement looking toward a union will not be retarded thereby, and that all will understand that I will bow to the verdict rendered, that I will go or stay in the movement as in their judgment the interests of the movement demand, pledging myself, whether in or out of the organized movement, to do my full duty to my class, according to my light and strength.

"Now as to the questions:

"1. The full facts of the 'armory' matter are these: The armory in Haverhill was an old factory; it was unsanitary; its continuance was a violation of the law. The proposition was to erect a sanitary building and to obey the law. I explained the attitude of Socialists to war and all things pertaining thereto; yet when the proposition was whether or not workingmen in the service of the state for one cause or another should be given sanitary conditions, I said yes, just as I had I been in congress while workingmen were dying of disease contracted in the unsanitary camp at Chickamauga, would have voted for an appropriation to defray the expense of moving them to a sanitary locality. It was not to build an armory where none existed, but to replace an unsanitary building with a sanitary one; not a fortress, but a wooden building, the total cost of which, including land charges, was to be \$15,000. The bill was defeated by the capitalist anarchists in the city council, who showed the same disregard for workingmen while dying in fever-breeding camps, in the trenches for lack of decent food, or upon plague ships while being conveyed to and from the scene of war.

"2. The appointment referred to is mayor's clerk and clerk of committee. His position is simply that of a city employee; he is not a Democrat. I am aware that he was styled one in a letter in the People of the old days, to give color to a false charge that we 'fused' with the Democrats, his appointment being implied to be part of the price paid for Democratic support to Comrade Chase. He had served under several mayors and held the office when Chase was elected. Not one of those we elected to office in that election ever having served in the city council, it was deemed wise that the mayor provide himself with some one familiar with the routine and detail. His previous experience as mayor's clerk and clerk of all the committees of the city council gave him a thorough grasp of the detail. Not a breath being raised against his honesty or ability, the mayor reappointed him and has had no reason to regret his choice.

"3. No, we do not believe in 'fusion,' and we have evidenced it upon many occasions, every proposition looking to a fusion having been rejected unanimously, and when, at the last municipal election, the Democrats endorsed two of our candidates for aldermen, we promptly sent to their city committee an absolute declination to accept. The Republicans nominated one of our members for the council. He informed them that he was a Social Democrat and would not and could not run on any other ticket. Again and again the capitalist politicians have tried to cause us to compromise the movement, but in every case, to the last man, our boys proved true to the uncompromising tactics of a true Socialist party. The fact that in the state election they united against us and that today our party is confronted by a fusion ticket composed of Republicans, Democrats and Prohibitionists, the city committees of these parties meeting jointly to en-

compass our defeat, is evidence sufficient for any fair-minded man as to the position the boys of Haverhill take upon the subject of 'fusion.'

"4. The position of the Haverhill comrades upon the imperative mandate in the instance quoted was simply this: That I, in my official capacity, belonged to them; that they were my constituents; therefore I must obey them or resign my office. Having become convinced that the Socialist movement of America had outgrown the capacity and ability of the S. L. P., as then constituted, wearying of the constant strife inside the party, their efforts to 'reform' certain conditions which had obtained in the S. L. P., their appeals to be heard answered by our being placed under the ban, by being spied upon, by being lied about, the two branches in Haverhill (a Jewish and an American) withdrew, voted to continue as organized Socialists and declared that, they being my constituents, I still must obey them. I have no hesitancy in saying that I was in favor of leaving the S. L. P. and that I did not then and do not now understand the imperative mandate to mean other than the control of representatives by their respective constituencies. Had they continued in the S. L. P., I would have remained with them until the end of my term or resigned my office.

"I have been brief—too brief to be as clear as some might wish, perhaps—but I trust that I have aided in some degree an honorable union of the forces that declare for the Co-operative Commonwealth. I thank you in the name of the comrades of Haverhill for your efforts to bring about at least a calm discussion of our differences, if any exist.

"Whatever may have been said of those with whom I am associated, or of myself, I long ago forgave. No amount of abuse could have moved me to treat it otherwise than with silence. I am sufficient of a Socialist to credit to conditions abnormal men, and a liar is but to be pitied, and is his own punishment.

"Assure your colleagues that I am unqualifiedly for union upon any basis that is honorable; that I will retire from the movement if my presence prevents it; that, whether I have erred or not, I have never consciously wronged my class—the working class—and that with my last breath I will cry, 'Workingmen of all countries, unite! You have naught to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain.' James F. Carey."

Discussion Proposed

Branches 2 and 3 of the S. D. P., at Cleveland, at a joint meeting, adopted the following resolutions:

"Whereas, The propaganda for the abolition of the wage system and all the evils pertaining thereto does not advance as rapidly as it should; and

"Whereas, This condition appears to be due to a greater or less extent because of the Socialists of America being divided, when we know that only by solidarity of action and purpose can we accomplish what we aim at—the establishment of a Co-operative Commonwealth.

"Whereas, The anti-De Leon faction of the S. L. P. having repudiated De Leon and the methods that divided the Socialist movement of this country, and as the S. D. P. has dropped the farmers' planks, we do not see any reason why the anti-De Leon faction of the S. L. P. and the S. D. P. cannot unite and form a harmonious and strong Socialist party; therefore be it

"Resolved, That we request the members of the anti-De Leon section of Cleveland (provided they are of the same view) to inaugurate a general discussion on this subject and to help in devising some plan satisfactory to both parties concerned whereby the object sought may be attained, so that in 1900 we may present to the enemy an unbroken line, fighting for humanity.

"Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the anti-De Leon section of Cleveland, one to our state committee, one to the Social Democratic Herald, and also request that this matter be discussed by our comrades at large and that they be urged to express their views through the Socialist press."

An important meeting of Branch 4, Chicago, will be held Friday night, December 1, at Brotherhood House, 1541 Central boulevard, corner of St. Louis avenue. The purpose is to effect a reorganization of the branch. A business meeting will be held promptly at 7:30, all members of the party in the Garfield Park district being urged to attend. At 8:15 o'clock an address will be delivered by Comrade Seymour Stedman, to which the general public is invited.

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MY EXILE TO SIBERIA

By Isador Ladoff

On my way to the place of exile I stopped for a few weeks in the prison at Jakutsk City, in the company of a party of other political offenders. What were the crimes they committed? Did they try to blow up somebody, or to penetrate somewhere by means of a subterranean passage? Neither of them was seriously compromised. Their crimes consisted either in reading prohibited literature or in free expression in public of advance ideas, or in open criticism of the policy of the government, or in personal acquaintance with some known political offender, whom they refused to denounce to the authorities, or in propagation of free political, economical or social ideas and theories, or simply of being considered by some over-zealous officer of the state as generally untrustworthy from the political point of view.

The prison is, for common criminals, a high school of crime, and for the political in Russia an academy of revolution. The conditions of prison life make the most reasonable and quiet going people inclined to resistance to authority and riot, even under circumstances where the possibility of favorable practical results is more than doubtful. The following incident may serve as an illustration of this statement: Rumors of oppressive measures, intended by the administration of the prison, aroused the indignation of the political prisoners, whose patience was exhausted by previous atrocities from the part of the authorities. A meeting was called.

A tall young man, with the sharp features of a swarthy descendant of the Kossacks of the Don river, was the first speaker. "Brethren," said he, "the treatment of political offenders by the hirelings of the government of the czar is growing harder and harder. There is a marked tendency to submit the political offenders to the same treatment as common criminals. We are condemned without any trial, according to the personal order of the czar, to exile in the farthest and least populated part of Eastern Siberia. We pine years and years in prison before we know our fate, being degraded physically, morally and mentally under the cruel and brutal management of the most depraved officials. Consumption and insanity sweep away many of our most noble comrades. Shall we suffer patiently, and passively encourage the arbitrary cruelty of the government's administration? No. We will shout a thundering 'Stop.' We shall do our duty in spite of everything. We are men who know what they have to do. We have in view only moral victory. Let us be crushed by the physical force of our enemies if it is necessary for our cause. Another generation will finish, gloriously, our struggle against the brute force of the hated despotism."

As he finished the pale faces of his twenty-three fellow-sufferers expressed the forebodings of important events. After a moment of deep silence another speaker, a man with a blonde beard, the genuine type of a "Great Russian," spoke. He emphasized the brutality of the officials with the female prisoners, and read a clandestine letter, smuggled from the women of the prison. The letter contained bitter complaints against the chief administration. The voice of the speaker, slightly hoarse, and vibrating, his feverish bright steel-grey eyes, his bloodless lips, the lively gesticulating of his long arms, the unconscious pulling of his beard with his trembling, bony fingers, his haggard, lank figure, created a deep impression. Animated talk followed. Many speakers pointed out the absurdity and cruelty of sending the exiles to Kolyma in large parties, there being neither food nor teams sufficient on the road to supply more than one traveler at a time. The consequence of such a system of forwarding exiles would be death from hunger in the Arctic wilderness. Some, among them the speaker of the evening, favored a peaceful attempt to persuade the authorities to change their plan of forwarding the parties. Others urged a forcible protest against any attempt of the local administration to treat them as "luggage." The opinions were divided, and no conclusion was reached at the meeting, which adjourned about midnight.

An ominous silence reigned in the so-called "Secret hall," where the political prisoners were confined in their separate prison cells. At times the stillness was interrupted by the gentle humming of the melancholy song of a lonesome ward who accompanied his vocal melodies with the tinkling of the metallic strings of a "balalaika." The quiet inside the dungeon was contrasted by the activity that the administration displayed outside of it. The number of the prison guards was doubled, their rifles loaded, orders passed in whispers from man to man. The officials noticed the excitement among the "politicals" and took precautionary measures.

The next morning all the doors of the cells of the "politicals" in the "Secret hall" were left locked, contrary to the usual custom. One of the prisoners asked the warden to open the door of his cell.

"The authorities forbid," was the reply.

"I wish to speak to the chief of the prison," insisted the political. "I have no right to leave my post," answered the guard. The prisoner retired behind the small iron-barred opening in the door in the interior of the cell. A few moments later the iron-clad door of the cell trembled from the violent blows from inside, caused by some heavy missile. The first blow was a signal for all the other inhabitants of the "Secret hall." An infernal noise followed. The massive stone building trembled from its foundation under the violent attacks of the prisoners. In five minutes the first door sprung from its hinges, with a crash. A thundering "Hurrah" of the prisoners greeted the first speaker of the previous evening, as he stepped over the ruins of the door, like a victor over the corpse of the vanquished enemy. With the iron bar he helped to open the doors of the other cells of the secret hall, using it as a powerful lever. In half an hour all the inhabitants of the secret hall were freed from their cells. All the inner guards vanished from the hall, which, by this time, was impassable from the ruins of broken doors. The higher officers did not venture to enter during the day. They sent a couple of men to clear the hall where the politicals moved freely as they used to do before, the hall being locked from outside.

The Congress of 1900

The following extract from the report of the committee of arrangements for the International Congress of 1900 is taken from Le Petite Republicque:

"The five organizations belonging to the preliminary committee having recently unanimously subscribed to the resolutions of the Brussels conference and accepted the conditions of the convocation of the congress of 1900, becomes in consequence the organization committee of the International Congress, and wishes to bring to your knowledge the series of propositions which constitute the provisional order of the congress, and which follow herewith:

1. Execution of the decisions of the International Congress. Examination and application of practical means to secure international organization and action among laborers and socialists.
2. International labor legislation regarding the limitation of the hours of work. Discussion of the possibility of a minimum wage in the various countries.
3. Necessary conditions of the freedom of labor. (a) Constitution and action of the organized proletariat as a class party. (b) Political and economic expropriation of the bourgeoisie. (c) Socialization of the means of production. suppression of the standing army.
4. Colonial politics.
5. Organization of the maritime laborers.
6. Struggle for universal suffrage and direct legislation by the people.
7. Communal Socialism.
8. Conquest of the public powers and alliances with bourgeois parties.
9. The 1st of May.
10. The trusts.
11. The revolutionary Socialist Labor party has proposed to several nations the following amendment, which, having been accepted by six nations out of eleven, is added to the order of the day: "Does not the increasing movement of the concentration of capital and the resulting economic disorder, which is irreducible by any political means, render inevitable a direct conflict between labor and capital which will take the form of a universal strike?"

THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

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1871	50,000	30,000	750,000	101,000	351,670	486,843	487,138
1874	50,000	30,000	750,000	101,000	351,670	486,843	487,138
1877	50,000	30,000	750,000	101,000	351,670	486,843	487,138
1881	50,000	30,000	750,000	101,000	351,670	486,843	487,138
1884	50,000	30,000	750,000	101,000	351,670	486,843	487,138
1887	50,000	30,000	750,000	101,000	351,670	486,843	487,138
1890	50,000	30,000	750,000	101,000	351,670	486,843	487,138
1893	50,000	30,000	750,000	101,000	351,670	486,843	487,138
1896	50,000	30,000	750,000	101,000	351,670	486,843	487,138
1898	50,000	30,000	750,000	101,000	351,670	486,843	487,138
Total Estimate Strength, 1898	5,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000

Are you a Socialist? What are you doing for Socialism? Every Socialist should be up and doing night and day, doing something to advance the cause. What are you doing? Are you bearing your share of the burden? Your share is to get at least one new subscriber to THE HERALD every week.

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CALL TO ACTION

ORGANIZE FOR 1900

There are few communities in this country today without from one to a dozen Socialists who are not affiliated with a Socialist organization. At the last State election in Missouri votes were cast for the candidates of the Social Democratic Party in nearly every county in that State.

In almost every community a thoroughly wide-awake and earnest Socialist with little exertion could in one week effect the organization of a Branch of the Social Democratic Party.

The Declaration of Principles and Political Demands of this party will be found in this UNCOMPROMISING SOCIALIST PARTY paper; read it and you will see that the party is a straight, uncompromising Socialist organization, recognized as such in the International movement for Socialism.

The triumph of the Socialist cause, which is the cause of the world democracy, requires organization, and without it nothing can be accomplished; this party is controlled by no individual nor by any set of individuals short of its entire membership through the referendum.

The year 1900 will be one of great and far-reaching importance to the people and especially to the intelligent, wealth-producing people of the United States; the latter have surely by this time begun to see the futility of any longer giving support to capitalistic parties.

Socialists should have as their main object in 1900 the polling of every vote possible for straight and uncompromising Socialism, and to do this the co-operation of every unattached Socialist in the work of organization, where he lives, is necessary.

The Social Democratic Party is now organized in more than half the States; it consists of Local Branches, State Unions and a National Council. A Local Branch may be organized with five members. It will nominate candidates for President and Vice-President next March.

Full instructions and all necessary supplies for organizing Local Branches may be obtained from the National Secretary, Theodore Debs, 126 Washington Street, Chicago, Illinois.

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THE PLATFORM

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness for every man, woman and child are conditioned upon equal political and economic rights.
That private ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth has caused society to split into two distinct classes, with conflicting interests, the small possessing class of capitalists or exploiters of the labor force of other, and the ever-increasing large dispossessed class of wage-workers, who are deprived of the socially-due share of their product.
That capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people.

That the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system, will compel the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare, or result in the destruction of civilization.
That the trade union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and that both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be the establishment of a system of co-operative production and distribution through the restoration to the people of all the means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

The wage-workers and all those in sympathy with their historical mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all parties and reform movements and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic Party will be tantamount to the abolition of capitalism and of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting us with millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

In the direction, we make the following demands:

1. Revision of our antiquated Federal Constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to full and complete control of government by all the people, irrespective of sex.
2. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.
3. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.
4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal and all other mines; also of all oil and gas wells.
5. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.
6. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of a large number of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.
7. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.
8. Labor legislation to be made national, instead of local, and international where possible.
9. National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.
10. Equal civil and political rights for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.
11. The adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.
12. Abolition of war as far as the United States are concerned and the introduction of international arbitration instead.

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APPEAL TO REASON

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